

# YOUNG INDIA

Vol. III

NOVEMBER, 1920

No. 11

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## India's Verdict

This Congress is of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive, non-violent, non-cooperation (with the British Government of India) until India's wrongs are righted and *Swarajya* (National Self-government) is established.

*(Resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at its special session in Calcutta, September, 1920.)*

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 14, 1912.

Of "Young India," published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October, 1920

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D. S. VIRAYA RAO

Signed to and subscribed before me this 14th day of October, 1920

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YOUNG INDIA, November, 1920



BATHING GHAAT AT BENARES

Photograph by Ananda Chatterjee

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# YOUNG INDIA

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## Editorial Notes

### The Wealth of Ancient India

The fabulous wealth of ancient India has been the topic of historians for many years now. Says Theophrastus, in his "Description of Ancient India":

"Here the Pyramids looked down upon the valley of the Nile, when Greece and Italy, three cradles of European civilisation, nursed only the remnants of the wilderness. India was a seat of wealth and grandeur. A happy population had covered the land with the marks of industry, rich crops of the most coveted productions of nature annually rewarded the toil of the husbandman. Shaded arbours concealed the rude products of the soil and the labours of unswerving industry and beauty; architects and sculptors poured an unending work, the industry of which we met, in some instances, been overborne by the evolution of thousands of years. . . . The ancient state of India must have been one of extraordinary magnificence."

Contrast this picture drawn by an English historian with that of sweet-streets, starving India today. After 160 years of British rule. Mr. T. N. Srinivasan, an Englishman who knows India thoroughly, and who knows speak the truth, declares:

"Even as we look on, India is be-

coming darker and darker. The life blood of the great multitude under our British rule is slowly, yet with faster, closing veins."

### Rural Illiteracy in India

A Commission appointed some time ago by the leading Christian Missionary Societies of India to study the needs of the country for better educational facilities has just made its report under the head of "Village Education in India." The report confirms the information received from so many other sources of the shameful lack of schools and the appalling illiteracy found almost everywhere, and which the British government, which creates the expenses of the country for its own military and administrative costs, refuses to remove. The report informs us that the number of literates in rural India generally is only one in ten in the case of men and one in a hundred in the case of women, that only 3.22 per cent. of the population is at school and that the schools are very poor and the school attendance period is so short that two out of five of the children who do pass through the schools relapse into illiteracy within five years of their premature withdrawal. Light is thrown upon the "value of British rule" when we con-

trust this state of things with what we find in some of the native states, where the "wise position of the British" is not present. For example, in the native state of Baroda, which manages its own affairs, we find elementary education universal, free, and compulsory both for boys and girls, with more than 80 per cent of the boys of school-going age, and 51 per cent of the girls actually under instruction.

## India and the Philippines

In the Philippines, under American rule, seventy per cent. (700 in a thousand) of the population above ten years of age can read and write. In India under British rule 10% per cent of the men (105 in a thousand) and one per cent of the women (ten in a thousand) can read and write. Yet Indian civilization is thousands of years older than that of the Philippines, though Indian people are much the more intellectual race, and England has had 200 years to build up education in India, whereas the United States has had only a little more than twenty years to work in the Philippines.

"Look here, upon that picture, and on this!"

## "Equality of Treatment!"

It was recently announced by the Indian Government that there were 354 vacancies in the Indian medical service, but 48 of these would be allotted to be filled by Indians, and 125 be reserved for Englishmen. Also, that 28 places were to be filled in the Indian Public Works Department of

the Civil Service, out of three of which were open for Indians, all the rest—25—being reserved for Englishmen. There were plenty of thoroughly trained Indian men to fill all the places, but the Foreigners wanted them, therefore to the foreigners they must go.

How do these facts compare with the promise made by Queen Victoria, when she proclaimed Empire of India, that henceforth there should be in her Indian domain perfect equality of treatment for Englishmen and Indians?

## Women in Indian Politics

One of the most encouraging features of Indian activities is that of the awakening of its women. In much of the news that comes from India attention is made of the presence of women, and their participation in political, social and other gatherings. A special feature of the Indian National Congress, held in September last, was the large number of women present. Many of the women delegates had come from distant provinces to the Congress, and among the number present were Mohammedan, as well as Hindu ladies. If it is remembered that the Mohammedan women has by age-long traditions and customs, kept herself aloof from all worldly activities, it will be realized what a transformation is taking place in India.

Another notable exhibition of the changing attitude of Hindu women to political life was made recently by the women of the Bombay Presidency who are reported to have gathered together in Bombay, city to protest against the

own disfranchisement in the Municipal Councils of the Bombay Legislature. The meeting was attended by representatives from a dozen women's organizations, and numbered among its representatives women from all castes and creeds. The necessity for women in the Councils was most emphatically voiced, and a resolution passed at the conclusion of the meeting, urging the government to take steps for the enfranchisement of women in the provinces.

## No Monuments for Indians!

We are told that while all other nations also fought on the side of the Allies in France—the Americans, the English, the Scotch, the Welsh, the Irish, the Canadians, the South Africans, the Australians, the New Zealanders—are having monuments erected in their honor, Indian soldiers who were the first to arrive, at any foreign frontiers, and who fought with a heroism surpassed by no other troops, are being left unnoticed.

## India's Discontent

Even if the British people regarded India as too weak, or too closely guarded or too cowardly, to rebel (an assumption which some day they may find to be a mistake) do they not know that her angry discontent, so long held down under England's heel will be a constant irritation, and an interfering one, to other powers such as France, Germany, Japan, Afghanistan, America, or China to take India's side, to encourage revolt, to smuggle arms into her territories and thus wrest her from British's power?

Great Britain may condemn India by her guns for a while while, but not for long. By its possibility can India's discontent with the British Empire be contained for longer than a very short period—and that a period of anxiety, turmoil and bloodshed—except by making her content. This is an axiom as death—that India can be made content by nothing less than self-government.

## British Rule and Prussian

By Henry Campbell-Bannerman once said—

"Good government is no substitute for self-government. The atmosphere of submission is poisonous, creating all that is vile and worthy, and inspiring all that is vile and ignoble. I am prepared to please British imperialism by confessing that British over-rule is better than Prussian or Russian over-rule, but at the same time I must remind my countrymen that Germans have stooped to Prussian and Russian methods in the Government of India."

If Sir Campbell-Bannerman had lived a little longer and seen the oppressions imposed on India since the Great War, and especially the horrible atrocities perpetrated on innocent people in the Punjab in 1919, would he have dared to say that British over-rule is better than that in Prussia or Russia?

## "Men and Dogs"

Every intelligent student of history, of education, or of psychology understands that there can be no helpful relations between parents and children, or between teachers and pupils, or be-

these governments and these provincial rulers there is mutual regard and sympathy. Here is it in India? Is there sympathy between the rulers and the ruled? We have the authority of Goldwin Smith for the statement that Lord Lytton, a Governor General of India, declared that there is not a bond between ruler and ruled in India; that there is between Englishmen and the Indian people.

### A New Voice for India

We are glad to welcome into the fold another vigorous helper in the cause of Indian freedom, namely, *The Independent Hindustan*, a new monthly published by the Hindustani Gadar Party of San Francisco, California. The editor is Mr. Saradon Kerr and its business manager is Mr. Balwan Singh. The form and general appearance of the magazine are very attractive and the matter is thoroughly alive. The first two numbers (September and October) are before us as we write. There cannot be too many voices telling the American people how the truth about India and setting forth the justice of her struggle for freedom. We wish the founders of this new monthly had chosen to use the name *India* instead of *Hindustan*, because the former name is so much better known in this country. However, the same thing might say with its way in time. We wish the new venture the largest possible circulation.

### Dr. Tagore in America

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore who for some time has been in England, has

just arrived in this country where he is to remain until March next, delivering lectures principally upon Indian literature and philosophy. He will also explain more fully than has yet been done, his plans for an Indian University and an exchange of professors and students between India and America. We expect to see distinguished poet, educator and thinker a most cordial greeting. In our next issue we hope to give our readers some matter from his pen. His first lecture in this country is to be delivered at Brooklyn, N. Y., on November 16, subject "The Meeting of the East and the West."

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## The Calcutta Congress

The Special Session of the Indian National Congress, held in Calcutta in September, attracted so many members and so enthusiastic an audience on the entire history of the Congress, unless it was that held last December in Amritsar, when the Punjab lawless were looted in the name of everybody. The number of registered delegates rose to nearly six thousand, and the number of people present to hear the presidential address and the more important discussions was from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand. The question before the Congress of all overwhelming importance was that of non-cooperation according to the plan proposed some months ago by Mr. M. K. Gandhi. There was considerable opposition to this plan in the early part of the session, and in the main Congress it was opposed by a number of men of influence, notably by Mr. M. M. Malaviya, Mr. C. R. Das and Mr. B. C. Pal. However, numbers of leaders of quite equal prominence favored it and among the delegates the sentiment in favor of it was very strong. The earliest telegraphic report from the Congress, as we mentioned in our last issue, gave the vote on the plan as very small and the majority in its favor as insignificant, namely, 146 to 125. But this was entirely misleading. The final vote was not taken until a late session, when everybody was tired and many had gone home. It stood for Mr. Gandhi's resolution, 825, for amendment 875. Of the twelve provinces of India, ten were in favor, the two opposed were

Bihar and the Central Provinces. Strong efforts were made to induce Mr. Gandhi to compromise, but he stood firm to the end and the large majority of the rank and file stood firmly with him.

The unity of sentiment between the Hindus and the Muslims was as perfect as at Amritsar. This was shown not only in the Congress itself, but also by the fact that the non-cooperation resolution, as moved by Mr. Gandhi in this Congress, was unanimously adopted by the All-India Muslim League which met in the Calcutta Town Hall and also by the All-India Khilafat Conference.

Mr. Lajpat Rai the President elect of the Congress came to Calcutta two days before the opening of the session, accompanied from his home in Lahore, a thousand miles away, by a large and influential delegation. At Lahore, where he took the train, and at every station on the route there were great crowds with flags and banners and displays of nation showing the honor in which he is everywhere held, and the profound interest of the people everywhere in the Congress and its fight for India's freedom. In Calcutta the railway station was decorated and a concourse of thousands of people awaited his arrival. A long procession was formed by mounted volunteers, with Mr. Rai at its head, in an open carriage drawn by eight horses. With music and banners the procession moved through principal streets and under triumphal arches.





place of such schools and colleges, establishment of national schools and colleges in the various provinces.

(d) *General aspect of British courts by lawyers and advocates and establishment of private arbitration courts by them for the settlement of private disputes.*

(e) *Refusal on the part of the nation, abroad, and inferior classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mohammedanism.*

(f) *Withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the reformed Councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who was, despite the Congress action after himself for election.*

(g) *Report of foreign press.*

And inasmuch as the Non-cooperation movement has been conceived as a movement

of discipline and self-sacrifice, with which, as before the Indian national Congress, and inasmuch as an opportunity should be given in the first stage of Non-cooperation to every man, woman and child for such discipline and self-sacrifice, this Congress advises adoption of Swadeshi development of national industries as a first step on a vast scale, and inasmuch as the raising of India with independent capital and control in and manufacture and demand for and sufficient cloth for the requirements of the nation and are not likely to do so for a long time to come, this Congress advises immediate stimulation of further manufactures on a large scale, the means of removing handicaps to every home, and handicrafting on the part of millions of the masses who have abandoned their ancient and hereditary calling for want of an overpayment.

### Mr. Gandhi's Speech

The most notable speech in the discussion on the Non-cooperation Resolution was made by its author Mr. K. Gandhi, who, as we have elsewhere observed, started the Congress by a large majority. The speech is summarized below.

"I am sure that events of the great responsibility resting on my shoulders in pulling the movement before the great issue. I am aware that the decision on the resolution will make a definite change in the policy that the country has hitherto adopted for the vindication of its rights and honor. I am aware that a large number of our respected leaders, who have given their time and attention in a manner which has not been my privilege to render in the movement, are ranged against me. I am fully aware that they feel a sense of duty that they must meet this attempt to revolutionize the policy of the country at practically any cost. Having all these difficulties, resting on

responsibility, giving all respect I am capable of to the leaders of the country, I stand before you as one of God and with a sense of duty towards my country to maintain this resolution for your hearty acceptance.

I have been charged with confidence and a desire for destruction. I am under a great deal of a candidate for dictatorship. I venture to submit that a non-cooperation is undoubtedly a new policy before the country. I am not premature in coming to the country with my resolution, for it has been talked about, written and accepted by thousands of meetings and placed in working order since the first of August by Mohammedans and many others in this resolution are being followed in a more or less intensive degree. If you pass this resolution, every one of you, individually, to the extent the Government is free, have to enforce them. Non-cooperation has been conceived as a movement of discipline and self-sacrifice. Non-cooperation

then is an angry atmosphere in an impudently, I have learned, by better opportunities, through a period of thirty years, one supreme lesson, namely, to conserve my anger, control it and convert it to constructive power.

The Muslims of India cannot become lawbreakers if they do not violate the laws of Khilafat (foreign head of Mohammedanism) of any sort. The British has been cruelly and barbarously treated. Even as Congress is vindicating the honor of the British and justify the existence of it against those who come from swarming hordes and a short, cold contempt, before reaching a single step, however rich it may be, from those kindred hordes. If there is a national emergency on the country in my opinion, I make bold to say that you are your country as one man. The programme stages have been fixed, that regard being laid to the confidence of the country.

Though there was another way before the country instead of Non-cooperation, namely, the breaking of the sword, India does not possess the sword. If it had possessed the sword, I know India would not have listened to the gospel of Non-cooperation. Even if you were to send justice from swarming hordes by methods of violence, you would have independent things. Discipline and self-sacrifice will still be necessary. I have not yet known of any country, I have not yet known of even gained without a disciplined army capable of dying, every one of them at their posts. If we want to give British India a sense in the British Government, to the British nation or to the combined power of Europe, we shall have to train ourselves in discipline and self-sacrifice. It is in that stage I am desirous to bring my country.

No nation subjected to another nation can possibly except in going against its traditions and responsibilities that conquering power on it. Immediately the nation refuses collectively that any gift that comes from the conqueror is not for the benefit of the conquered, but principally for the benefit of the conqueror,

that nation that every conqueror will respect all voluntary submission and refuse to give every form of voluntary justice to the vanquished. There are fundamental and elementary conditions of success in our struggle for national independence whether under the Empire or without. That is my position."

Referring to details of the programme, he said:

"I feel sure, notwithstanding the intense reaction in the British Government, if I have to make a choice between that and British non-cooperation, I will choose unity and sacrifice British non-cooperation. If I have the choice of the honor of the British and, therefore, of India and I have to choose between temporary silence, namely, neglect of literary training of my children, closing up of schools and, therefore, temporary disorder and shutting out of legislative activity and of the British non-cooperation, I will choose the former, and unless you have the same burning feeling and enthusiasm in you to refuse to vindicate the honor of India, whether you are a Hindu or a Mohammedan, and the honor of the British, then you will unconsciously accept my proposition."

Referring to the report of Gandhi (which will be considered under the new Government of India Act), he said:

"If this house is in doubt, it will have to decide upon this one clear-cut issue. This is the burning issue of the day. Even if you vote the country must be given freedom through the method or without the method? Does it think that through the method it is possible to gain freedom? (Congress discipline request, Mr. Webb.) It clearly contrasts the British Government's present holders of office and if we are aware that the British Government is totally unscrupulous, how can you possibly trust these men and believe that they will lead to freedom, rather than lead to the liquidation of the land of the British Government in India?"

In this, give the member your serious consideration and do not be swayed by



any personality, however good. I do not claim any infallibility for my program. (Laterwise history, I feel, thought behind my program and in-

cluding determination to refuse that program, also passed on my conviction that I cannot do just this-elsewhere.")

### Non-Cooperation Work Begins

When the Congress was over Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues had to turn to getting to work on practical plans for carrying out the Non-cooperation resolution of the Congress. A sub-Committee consisting of Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Nehru and Mr. Patel issued a draft of resolutions regarding the carrying out of the policy. The Committee urged that a department of leading non-cooperators should wait at the holders of titles and honorary offices from the government and urge them to abandon the same, that non-cooperators should visit candidates for the proposed government Councils and urge them not to stand, and that voters should be urged to sign a declaration that under present conditions they do not wish representation, and that law-

yers should suspend their practice in connection with government courts, and organize arbitration courts for the private settlement of disputes. Parents should be urged to withdraw their children from the government schools, and educate them privately. Schools receiving state aid should refuse to receive it any longer. Young men likely to volunteer the service in the army for any part of the former Turkish Empire should leave the service employed in them and should be discouraged from enlisting. The Committee also urged that efforts be made everywhere to revive hand spinning and hand weaving in India, and that a National Fund must be established for the purpose of making effective the policy of non-cooperation.

### Latest Light From India

Developments in the political situation in India today are most interesting and significant. From the meager reports that have been received here about the progress of the non-cooperation movement it is evident that the general status in India is growing daily. The *Chicago Tribune* recently sent a correspondent to India, to investigate conditions there and his telegraphic reports are interesting revelations of the complete metamorphosis that India is undergoing.

Through the reports come the one point fact, that Indian unrest is more widespread and significant than ever before and that the whole foundation of British rule in India is exceedingly unstable.

Analyzing the present labor situation, the correspondent writes:

"Strikers are now up in practically every Indian city. Bombay is plunged into darkness through a strike of gas workers. Post office and telegraph employees are also out. In Calcutta,

1,500 street car men struck work, won all demands, and returned to work. To the north of the city native shopkeepers have signed so many revolts. Buildings have been burned and flagpoles attacked. In Madras, there are now 27 labor unions with 60,000 members. Two years ago there was not an effective labor organization in all India."

The correspondent gives but a partial list of India's strikes.

"Although appearing as pure economic strikes," he continues "they have a deep political meaning as a part of the general unrest and they are a physical revolt against the political as well as economic conditions."

It is not only in India that great dissatisfaction is being evidenced, the reports declare.

The whole foundation of British rule in India and the whole present day situation of Indian life is being eaten by white hot revolution—political, social, economic, industrial, religious and artistic revolutions. Everything is changing. At present all these revolutions are centered along political lines, but once this is settled, new India will go ahead with the rest of her revolutionary program with a great social and economic upheaval at the bottom of all.

One of the strongest expressions of India's disapproval is being exhibited, in the opinion of the correspondent, with regard to the new Reform Act, the provisions of which will go into operation shortly.

"A few years ago, when the new reforms were given, the Indian leaders were disappointed, were willing to enter the new legislative councils to

cooperate with Great Britain. Early this year, when the Hunter Commission refused to punish persons responsible for the Amritsar shooting, bitter feeling replaced, almost overnight, the old spirit of cooperation. One is not prophesying, but merely a reasonable plan: facts when the states that the new reforms will be overwhelmed by a flood of unrest which is already sweeping all India.

"Anglo-British relations are growing, the nationalist spirit is growing strongly, and political unrest is manifested everywhere, giving evidence that the more extreme of the new Reform has failed to touch the popular imagination."

The great strength of the movement for non-cooperation lies in the fact that the unity between Muslims and Hindus is stronger than ever before in India's history. A prominent Mohammedan leader to the Tribune correspondent:

"For 130 years we have been the victims of the old British game to divide and rule. We have bought the Hindus always, but now we know better. We are unitedly united with them now for nationalism. We will never quarrel again."

It is this unity which will ultimately make for the success of the "non-cooperation" movement. Thus, and the fact that the movement has been taken up by the masses of the people, is the most hopeful aspect of the situation.

"Until recently the nationalist movement was entirely controlled by educated and conservative men," writes the correspondent, "but now the extremists, who know no limits, have the whip hand. Next the streets

muscle and untutored peasants will show their power."

Outside India, the situation, as summed up by the correspondent, is equally serious. "In Mesopotamia, the British are fighting the native population and have been at war with them since last winter. In Persia, British influence is threatened by the Russian empire. On the Afghan border, a state of armed watchfulness exists. Cooperation between the Afghans and the Bolsheviks has been noted."

Since the Indian National Congress in September last voted no longer to cooperate with the British government, one of the most remarkable national movements in the history of peoples has developed according to other reports from London. Less than a year ago the Viceroy of India wrote to Lord Minto a message to be delivered to the House of Lords in which he said:

"Treason which formerly had been largely subterranean and inviolate now covers the country with a flag which it is impossible for us to deny, even if we wished to do so. . . . What lies behind and below the whole of the political difficulties in India at a spirit of Nationalism, nurtured by our methods and examples, a spirit born in the soil and spreading rapidly through all ranks and classes of Indian society. . . . It promotes the proletarian class, with whom it is impugned. It is also going deep into the trade and moneyed classes and it is spreading to the land classes. It is an open secret that most of the progressive and enlightened persons of India are deeply in sympathy with all that is best in the Nationalist movement."

As to the attitude of the British in India, a correspondent of the Manchester Guardian recently said:

"Residence in India seems incompatible with a Democratic outlook. The British in India do not think of the Indians as fellow subjects. They instinctively measure the cheapness of Indian lives. It seems to them natural and fitting that hundreds of Indian lives should be taken in repressing for one English life. . . . To suggest that the Hero of Jallianawalla (General Dyer, who was responsible for the Amritsar massacre) was not a public benefactor, and the career of India was to court population from every club and general estimation."

"A feeling of insecurity remains throughout India. Not since the Mutiny days has the totality of the perils to India been more vividly realized. No man fears for himself, but he is slightly uneasy when he realizes that his wife and children are frequently unsecured and alone, amid strikers, robbers, poisoners and all the hideous material of the Indian lazar."

"Fortunately for his power of mind he does not realize the violence or pervasiveness of the attack (anti-British propaganda). This venacular press has become a powerful factor in the public life of India. Every village has its subterranean to colony anti-Government papers. The village newspapers read those aloud to the illiterate, and were schoolboys learn to denounce the childlike efforts of the authorities often rather to contribute religion and liberty." The British effort in every service is now everywhere looked on as

a selfish dogpaw, a heartless dogpaw who is out to tyrannize over a helpless people, and is opposed to every light-

heart attempt at progress and enlightenment. Never a word is heard on the other side."

## India and Japan\*

By Dr. SAKUMOTO KENJI,

Lecturer on the State University of Iowa.

Although technological methods and agricultural and industrial schools are a prime necessity in the economic uplift of any country, there is as yet no adequate provision for the creation of those in India. India possessed, like Japan, a national government free to rule its own destiny, the situation would have been very different. Fifty years ago Japan was industrially no better than India. At that time Japan was a feudalistic agricultural country with a strong aversion for trade and commerce. The nation was sharply divided into many classes and sub-classes of which the Samurai, the warrior class, was the most powerful factor. With the advent of Commodore Perry Japan turned over a new leaf. The Japanese government decided to make Japan the leading industrial country of the Orient. And how did the Japanese government go about it? Japan had no native industrial experience. "It was entirely without models for organization, without financial machinery, and without the idea of joint-stock enterprise." At this juncture the government took hold of the situation. It established schools and colleges, where all branches of applied sciences

were taught. There were "official excursions," writes Baron Kikuchi in his interesting article on Japan in *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, "into the domains of silk-reeling, insect-reeling, cotton and silk-spinning, lock-making, printing and book-binding, soap-making, type-setting and ceramic decoration." Technical exhibitions were also organized, and specimens of the country's products and manufactures were sent under government auspices to exhibitions abroad. On the other hand, the effect of the new departure along Western lines could not but be injurious to the old domestic industries of the country, especially to those which owed their existence to custom and tradition now regarded as obsolete. Here again the government came to the rescue by establishing a firm whose functions were to facilitate foreign markets with the products of Japanese artisans, and to protect its adaptations liberally to appeal to Occidental taste. Steps were also taken for training women as artisans, and the government printing houses set the example of employing female labor, an innovation which soon developed into large dimensions. In short, the authorities applied themselves to advance an industrial discipline throughout the country, and as soon as success seemed

\*FROM AN ARTICLE ON "INDIA, JAPAN AND THE EAST" IN THE *YOUNG INDIA* FOR JUNE, 1933.

to be in sight, they gradually transferred from official to private direction the various model enterprises, retaining only such as were required to supply the needs of the State.

The result of all this effort was that whereas at the beginning of the Meiji era, 1867, Japan had virtually no industries worthy of the name, she possessed in 1896—that is to say, after an interval of twenty-nine years of effort—no less than 4255 industrial and commercial companies, great works

or partnerships, with a post-war capital of two hundred million dollars.

Is it surprising that Japan today is the most prosperous industrial country of Asia? Is there any room for doubt that if India had possessed a national government of its own like that of Japan, Hindustan, too, with her boundless natural resources and almost unlimited labor supply, would have prospered as well as, if not better than, Japan?

## Reorganizing India's Military Strength

England's present policy in Mesopotamia, and her use of Indian troops in the Middle East campaign are but part of an elaborate plan to secure India's own power in the British Imperial Union. This plan is revealed in the report just published of the recommendations of the Esher Committee, appointed to investigate and report on the reorganization of the Indian army. The Committee's recommendations, if carried out, would virtually place India's own power and money at the mercy of a contemplated Military Council in England, and would be available for use not only in India but in the Near and Middle East. Considering India's present strength, the scheme presents grave danger to the entire Middle East, including Turkey, Arabia, Persia, Central Asia, Afghanistan, etc. The idea of superannuating India's forces will be regarded in India as nothing short of a definite step toward new conquests and annexations to the British Empire on the Asiatic continent. The report clearly says:

"Most political machinery created by the Peace Treaty has enhanced the importance of the army in India relatively to the military forces in other parts of the Empire, and more particularly those of the British Isles. The war has left Eastern Europe, and what is commonly called the Near and Middle East, in a condition of gross anarchy, with consequences to India, especially as regards her military and financial resources, that we are unable to ignore.

"It is therefore necessary to recognize that the responsibility of the Indian army is greatly enhanced and a co-vo-luntary to be regarded as a local force whose sphere of activity is limited to India and the surrounding frontier territories. It must rather be treated as a part of an Imperial Army, ready to give service in any part of the world. It follows that the organization of an auxiliary service should, if assistance is to be avoided, conform closely to that of the rest of the Empire.

"The issue of grants of military operations has shifted from West to East and in the future we must contemplate the possibility of our armies operating in the Middle East, based partially on India and partially on France (England)."

To this end the Committee proposes a plan whereby the chief of the Imperial General Staff will be the sole adviser of the Military Department, of the Secretary of State for India's affairs, and his plans and policies will be carried out over the decision of the cabinet or under the sanction of the Secretary of State for India or the Secretary of State for India in London. The plan proposed includes also the division of India into fourteen military districts, which will each be under the subordinate command of a military officer, fully acquainted with local conditions and

ready to grapple with any emergency that may arise.

The policy of the British Government since the armistice, in securing the mandate over Mesopotamia and signing a treaty with Persia, has been given added strength by the proposed militarization of Indian war-power for Imperial purposes in Asiatic territories. The effect of this report on the future will be to add fuel to the flame of current which already envelops the country. Following the decision of the Indian National Congress at its special session on September 4th, resolutions are being organized throughout India to carry into practice the provisions of the boycott plan against the British Indian Government. Among the provisions is one for the withdrawal of labor and military strength from the Imperial campaign.

## Meredith Townsend on Non-Co-operation

Many years ago Mr. Meredith Townsend, a distinguished Englishman who certainly knew India well, wrote as follows:

"The English think that they will rule India for many centuries or forever. I do not think so, holding rather the older belief that the Empire which came in a day will disappear in a night. . . . None of this invulnerable mass of bureaucracy governing all, protecting all, taxing all, more what we call the "Empire," a corporation of less than 1500 men, partly chosen by examination, who are sent to govern and who protect themselves by feeding pay for

a minute white garrison of 60,000 men, one-fifth of the Russian Empire, though the masses to be controlled are double the population of Russia. That corporation and that garrison constitute the "Indian Empire." There is nothing else. Besides these 1,500 men in black and about the shoulder girdles in red, and the empire has ended, the structure disappears and brown India emerges unchanged and unchangeable. To support the official world and its garrison—bureaucracy, soldiers, and those of Belgium—there is except by Indian opinion, absolutely nothing. Not only is there no white army, but there is no white man who proposes

to remain. There are no white servants, nor even gardeners, no white police-men, no white postmen, no white anything. If the brown men struck for a week the Empire would collapse like a house of cards, and every ruling man would be a starving prisoner in his own house. He could not even feed himself or get water."

This picture, drawn many years ago, is lurid and sensational. In two or three particulars it does not quite correctly portray the India of today. It represents the number of the British rulers of India (the bureaucracy) as too small, and the strength of the military force kept to hold the people down as less than it is at present. The race with which the "Indian Empire" could be overthrown by a defeat of the British garrison is probably exaggerated. And yet, who that really knows India can deny that Mr. Townsend states facts—facts ugly and alarming enough when he wrote them, but less ugly even to-day. Not one of the Indian Nationalists, nor Mr. Gandhi, nor the most ultra "extremist" has made such a strong statement, has painted so vivid, so realistic, so alarming, shall we not say so true, a picture

of the possibilities which lie to "Windsor-Compton," to compel the British Government to come to India's terms, as the Englishmen has done. It is undeniably true that the continuation of British rule in India depends absolutely upon the co-operation of the Indian people; it cannot go on for a month, for a week, for even a day, without their help. It is absolutely the fact, as Mr. Townsend declares, that if "the brown men struck for a week, the 'Empire' would collapse like a house of cards, and every ruling man would be a starving prisoner in his own house. He could not even feed himself or get water."

The tremendous power which the people of India have in their hands in this matter should make them very anxious, very careful not to do anything hasty or rash, very determined to bring on everything that leads to the direction of violence or disorder, and very conscientious in regard to their responsibilities. But, at the same time it may well make them united, unswerving, and absolutely determined to win, by sustained non-cooperation, the justice which is denied them, and the freedom which is their God-given right.

## India Held by Terrorism

Probably most Americans have already believed that England is in India with the consent of the Indian people and for their benefit. It has been upon this ground that we have been able to translate ourselves to the thought of a great unified nation, such as India is, being under foreign

domination. But of late we have been finding out how greedy misdeeds we have been.

For nearly a year Great Britain has actually been confessing, confessing officially, that so far from being wanted in India, the only way she can keep her place there is by terrorism as

delightful as any practiced by any power in the world. Let us see just what are the facts.

The defense of the Jallawalla Massacre last year and of all the Punjab martial law measures accompanying it, put forth by the British officials in India and by the whole imperialist party in England from the first has been, and still is, that those shooting proceedings were necessary on the part of the government in order to prevent a revolution. In other words, the declaration was and is officially made to the world that there was a plot in the Punjab and beyond to overthrow the British government in India, a plot so deep laid and so secret that nothing short of terrorism, nothing short of a great drastic exhibition of brutalities on the part of the authorities, nothing short of war, without pity earned to the length that General Dyer and others carried it, of burning villages, and dispersing assemblies by moving down armed men, women and children by the hundred, could ever save the people and prevent the revolt.

In considering this declaration what is to be said? First, so far as can be ascertained, there was no revolution at all, and no signs of a revolution. From no source whatever has there been produced any real evidence of a plot to overthrow the Government. This is the verdict of the minority report (the least biased) of the Hunter Investigating Committee, and this is the unanimous verdict of the report of the Indian National Congress Committee, whose investigations were of the most thorough and reliable character possible. The idea that there was any

such revolutionary plot seems to have had its origin solely in the excited imagination and nervous fears of officials, civil and military, who had long tyrannized over the people and who had been made timid, apprehensive (or shall we say conscience-stricken?) and cowardly by the cruelties and injustices they had committed.

From the first the British officials have seemed to feel themselves driven to cling to this idea of a revolutionary plot in face of the evidence against it, because they have been able to find no other possible line of defense for their conduct. If there was no danger of revolution, of course nobody, unless he were a demon incarnate, could possibly think of trying to justify what was done by the British officials and soldiers in the Punjab and elsewhere.

Even if we grant all that the English imperialists and the officials in India claim, namely the existence of a revolutionary plot so deep, wide-spread and formidable as to threaten to overthrow the government and drive the British from the country, that does not make the British case any better, it makes it actually worse, for it shows how utterly unjustifiable is the presence of the British Government in India at all. The only shadow of justification that England has for being in India is that she is there for the good of the Indian people and with their consent and desire. But if the people, instead of wanting her there, hate her, and in order to drive her out, are willing to risk the horrors of a bloody revolution, and if the only way that she can stay is by blood and terrorism, then where is her justification for being there? She has none. On the ha-

me of her own plan that there was a deeply organized revolt ready to break out to drive her from the land, the only action on her part possible for a moment was preparation to leave—the reorganization of plans at once to set up a viable government composed of the responsible and trusted leaders of the Indian people and her departure to her distant British home not to return. No man and no devil, ever presented a blacker procedure than that of one nation forcing its rule upon another by such terrorism and such wholesale execution of innocent human lives as the world has witnessed in India during the past two years. And yet if we are to accept the declaration of England's own officials that is the only way by which she can stay in India. Such then is brief as the situation. It leaves the question upon us: Where is all 'humanity' that our government ever professes itself so completely and faithfully as the British Government in India has done by thus declaring (condemning) to the world

that it has been compelled to commit the Jallianawalla horror and all the other horrors that went with it in order to exist? Under such circumstances, what right has it to exist? Have we not in this shocking circumstance that these horrors have been found necessary, the most convincing evidence possible that England has no justification whatever for remaining in India a single day longer than is necessary to prepare for her orderly and safe withdrawal, that her longer domination there by the power of the sword will be the blackest of crimes, and that at the very earliest practicable date she is bound by every principle of honor and justice to grant to the Indian people that self-government which they so earnestly desire, which for 5000 years before the coming of the British they enjoyed, and for which they are so much better fitted than the British or any foreign nation can be to rule them, and which is their inalienable right?

## New York and Amritsar Disasters— A Comparison

About the middle of last month a shocking tragedy occurred in New York City. On Wednesday, September 15, at noon, without any warning, a bomb—seemingly placed there purposefully, with the intent of destroying human life and property—was exploded in Wall Street, killing a considerable number of persons and wounding a much larger number. The whole city, and we may almost say the whole nation, was震惶 and astounded

by what was collectively given account a foul and dastardly crime.

To present comparison with India, the startling event in New York was hardly fit to suggest an event still more startling, still more shocking, which took place on the day of Amritsar, a large city of the Punjab, a Province in the northwest of India, in April of last year. The world has already heard much, and is likely to hear still more, of that tragedy, in which

a British general caused the shooting to death and the wounding of more than ten times as many persons and wholly innocent persons as were killed and injured in the Wall Street calamity. It will be interesting, and perhaps it will throw some light upon the character of British rule in India, if we compare the two events. Making our comparison in some detail and with the greatest possible care, we find the following:

1 Here in New York the persons killed or injured were all believed to be innocent. There is every reason to believe that those suffering in India were all equally innocent also.

2 Here the destruction came without warning. There it was also without warning.

3 Here the people upon whom the calamity fell were carrying on their peaceful daily business. There the victims were assembled in a great peaceful religious gathering.

4 Here the persons destroyed or injured were nearly all men and women. There they were men, women and children.

5 Here the number killed was 10, and the number wounded about 30. There the number killed was at least 300 and, according to the Report of the Indian National Congress, at was 1,200, and the number of wounded was at least 1,600.

6 Here the slaughter was probably the work of an unknown group, or so some conjecture, was possibly due to explosion of a munition wagon. There it was perpetrated by the deliberate command of a British General who ordered a body of troops, armed with the most approved guns to pour their fire into a great concourse of unarmed

people assembled in a small park for religious purposes and to continue their munitionless fire until their ammunition was exhausted and until the exits from the park were blocked up with the dead and the dying.

7 Here as soon as the terrible catastrophe took place, the victims were cared for in the most careful possible way and in the earliest possible moment. Physicians, nurses, and ambulances were rushed to the scene, and in an amazingly short time every sufferer was in a hospital or otherwise receiving the very best and that medical or surgical skill could render. There, in Amritsar, the General and his troops, who perpetrated the massacre and who therefore were wholly responsible, left all the vast mass of their dead and wounded where they fell, making no provision whatever for them, not burying a single body, not removing even a single one of the wounded women and children to a hospital, or even administering first aid to a single sufferer. Worse still, the General, who had commanded not only his troops but of the city, actually prohibited a savage carnage under which prevented the friends and relatives of the victims from coming to their rescue until the next day, so that some of the sufferers lay in their blood and pain 37 hours before they received any attention.

8 One more item of comparison. Here, in New York, the crime committed was no meaner than the united police and executive forces of the city, the state and the national government were put at work under the strictest orders, to use every means in their power to discover and to bring to punishment the perpetrator. There, in India, the crime—the massacre—

was no sooner committed than the governments of the Punjab and of India set to work by every means in their power to shield from punishment every person, military and civil, in any way responsible for the inexpressibly horrible deed that had been done. Seventeen months have now passed, and, so far as information can be obtained, the only person who has received any punishment at all, or is likely to receive any, is the General, upon whom has been inflicted—what penalty? That of retirement from active service on a fat pension!

This absolutely accurate and careful

comparison illustrates the difference between the way in which crime is dealt with in India—when committed by British official—and the way in which it is dealt with in this country. It illustrates the difference between British justice and humanity in India, and justice and humanity as they are understood and practised in America.

In the light of the above comparison, and when it is remembered that this American atrocity does not stand alone, but is only the worst in an extended and dark series of atrocities and tyrannies, need the world wonder that India is not satisfied with British rule?

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